

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04

NSAE-00 SIL-01 AID-05 PC-01 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 L-02

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 AGR-05

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R 072220Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9665

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEGUCIGALPA 1330

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, EAGR, ELAB, HO

SUBJECT: CURRENT ANACH VIEWS ON GOH AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

REF: (A) TEGUCIGALPA 0699, (B) TEGUCIGALPA A-38

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN CONVERSATION WITH LABOFF APRIL 2 ANACH  
SECGEN ANTONIO JULIN EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO GOH AGRARIAN  
REFORM LAW ON GROUNDS THAT THE LEGISLATION DENIES THE  
CAMPESENO PARTICIPATION IN THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROCESS.  
ANACH IS CONTINUING ITS ANALYSIS OF THE LAW AND HAS NOT  
YET DETERMINED ITS LIKELY COURSE OF ACTION IF THE GOH DOES  
NOT MEET ITS OBJECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. ANTONIO JULIN, SECRETARY GENERAL OF ANACH (THE  
FESITRANH AFFILIATED NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HONDURAN  
CAMPESENO) CALLED ON LABOFF AT EMBASSY ON APRIL 2. WITHIN  
ANACH, JULIN IS SECOND IN INFLUENCE ONLY TO PRESIDENT  
REYES RODRIGUEZ AND IS LIKELY THE MOST ARTICULATE OF ALL  
THAT GROUP'S OFFICERS.

2. IN HIS COMMENTS JULIN CONFIRMED AND AMPLIFIED BASIS OF  
ANACH CONCERN WITH GOH AGRARIAN REFORM LAW DESCRIBED IN  
REFERENCES. IN GENERAL TERMS, ANACH REGARDS THE PRESENT  
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GOH PROGRAM AS AN IMPOSED SOLUTION THAT NEITHER PERMITS

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CAMPESINO NOR REFLECTS HIS NATURE. ANACH WAS NOT CONSULTED WHILE THE LAW WAS BEING WRITTEN AND ITS VIEWS ARE NOT BEING SOUGHT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE LAW'S BODY OF REGULATIONS.

3. ALTHOUGH ANACH IS CONCERNED BY SEVERAL PARTICULAR ITEMS IN THE LAW, ITS FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN IS FOR ITS SURVIVAL AS AN EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CAMPESINO CLASS. JULIN AND OTHER ANACH LEADERS BELIEVE THAT IF THE AGRARIAN REFORM IS CARRIED OUT AS THE LAW IS NOW STRUCTURED, THERE WILL BE NO VIABLE ROLE REMAINING FOR ANACH AND THE ORGANIZATION WILL DISAPPEAR. ANACH WOULD LIKE THE LAW TO BE BROADENED TO PROVIDE A ROLE FOR THE ORGANIZATION. JULIN BELIEVES THAT THE NEW LAW REFLECTS THE GOVERNMENT'S RATHER THAN THE CAMPESINOS' INTERESTS AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO SEPARATE ANACH FROM ITS TRADE UNION AFFILIATES (FESITRANH). JULIN FEELS THAT THE GOH DOES NOT WANT THE CAMPESINOS FORMED INTO ORGANIZATIONS THAT CAN BE THE SOURCE OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

4. THE GOH AGRARIAN REFORM LAW ANTICIPATES THAT CAMPESINOS WILL BE FORMED INTO COOPERATIVE GROUPS (EMPRESEAS ASOCIATIVAS) AND RECEIVE TECHNICAL SERVICES FROM THE NATIONAL AGRARIAN INSTITUTE (INA). ACCORDING TO JULIN, IN A MEETING WITH FESITRANH AND ANACH LEADERS IN SAN PEDRO SULA MARCH 16 (REF B), INA DIRECTOR LT. COL. MARIO MALDONADO SAID THAT ANACH LOCAL UNITS AND SECTIONS OF ITS COOPERATIVE PLAN SHOULD BE FORMED INTO THE EMPRESAS ASOCIATIVAS. WHEN ANACH COMPLAINED ABOUT HAVING ITS ORGANIZATION BROKEN UP TO FIT THE STRUCTURE OUTLINED BY THE LAW, JULIN SAID THAT MALDONADO BECAME VERY ANGRY, SAYING THAT THERE WOULD BE AGRARIAN REFORM WITH OR WITHOUT ANACH, THAT THE LAW WOULD NOT BE CHANGED AND THAT ANACH WAS EVEN MORE REACTIONARY THAN FENAGH (CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION). JULIN CONFIRMED LABMIN FONSECA'S VIEWS OF ANACH'S FUTURE ROLE (SEE REF B) AND SAID HE THINKS FONSECA WAS OUTLINING ONLY WHAT THE GOH HOPED ANACH WOULD DO RATHER THAN WHAT THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED TO DO. THEREFORE, HE BELIEVES THAT IF ANACH DOES NOTHING, THE GOH WILL NOT CANCEL ITS LABOR MINISTRY PERSONERIA JURIDICA (LEGAL STATUS).  
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5. JULIN SAID ANACH STILL SUPPORTS THE IDEA OF AGRARIAN REFORM (ANACH PRESIDENT REYES RODRIGUEZ STILL PUBLICLY SUPPORTS THE LAW) AND THAT ANACH IS CONTINUING TO PRESENT ITS VIEWS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO FORMULATE AN ACTION PLAN.

6. COMMENT: SINCE ITS FOUNDATION ANACH HAS BEEN PRESSURING IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER FOR AGRARIAN REFORM. IN FACT, THE

DECEMBER 1972 CAMPESINO MARCH ON TEGUCIGALPA (WHICH WAS THE BEGINNING OF EVENTS CULMINATING IN THE DECEMBER 4, 1972 COUP) BEGAN BECAUSE OF ANACH DISAGREEMENT WITH THE MANAGEMENT OF INA. FOLLOWING LOPEZ' RESUMPTION OF POWER IN 1972, THERE WAS A DIVISION WITHIN ANACH BETWEEN THOSE WHO THOUGHT THE BEST POLICY WOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT POSTURE (WHILE MAINTAINING TRADE UNION TIES) AND OTHERS WHO BELIEVED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOH WOULD BRING BETTER RESULTS. THE LATTER GROUP APPEARED MOST OFTEN TO BE GUIDING THE DESTINY OF ANACH. WITH ITS TRADE UNION ALLIES (FESITRANH), ANACH PARTICIPATED IN THREE LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS SUPPORTING THE LOPEZ GOVERNMENT'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND THE GOAL OF AN AGRARIAN REFORM. BOTH GROUPS APPEAR TO HAVE MADE THE INCORRECT ASSUMPTION THAT THE GOH'S REWARD FOR THEIR SUPPORT WOULD BE AN AGRARIAN REFORM LAW REFLECTING THEIR INTERESTS.

7. NEITHER ANACH NOR FESITRANH USED THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE DURING THIS PERIOD TO MONITOR THE EVOLUTION OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM LEGISLATION. RATHER, JUST SUPPORTING THE IDEA OF AGRARIAN REFORM SEEMED TO BE ENOUGH. WHEN THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW WAS RELEASED IN JANUARY, FESITRANH AND ANACH EXPRESSED INITIAL APPROVAL, STILL BELIEVING THAT THEIR INTERESTS HAD BEEN PROTECTED. IT TOOK SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE ANACH LEADERS REALIZED THAT, FROM THEIR VIEWPOINT, ALL WAS NOT WELL WITH THE LAW.

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04

NSAE-00 SIL-01 AID-05 PC-01 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 L-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9666

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEGUCIGALPA 1330

8. FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH SEVERAL OF THE NORTH COAST LEADERS, IT IS APPARENT THAT THERE IS A CONSENSUS DEVELOPING THAT THEIR STRATEGY VIS-A-VIS THE LOPEZ GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN A GREAT MISTAKE. FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH NON-LABOR PEOPLE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE RECENT LAW, IT IS ALSO APPARENT THAT THERE MIGHT BE A REAL ROLE FOR ANACH IF IT CAN BE CREATIVE ENOUGH TO ADAPT ITSELF TO THE NEW LAW AND TO GRASP NEW OPPORTUNITIES. HOWEVER, FROM ANTONIO JULIN'S INSISTENCE THAT "YOU CANNOT CHANGE THE NATURE OF THE CAMPESINO QUICKLY," IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION INDICATES THAT ANACH IS NEITHER LIKELY TO BE SUFFICIENTLY CREATIVE TO CARVE OUT A NEW ROLE NOR BE ABLE TO BRING POLITICAL POWER TO BEAR IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO SECURE CHANGES IN THE LEGISLATION.

9. THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANACH'S FAILURE TO FULLY ADAPT TO THE CHANGED SITUATION RAISES ONE OTHER POINT CONCERNING THE FUTURE LEADERSHIP OF THE CAMPESINO MOVEMENT. ANACH'S COMPETITION, THE UNION NACIONAL COMPEINO (UNC), IS ORGANIZED VERY DIFFERENTLY. ITS MEMBERS PAY NO DUES AND THE ORGANIZATION IS WELL TIED IN WITH THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SERVICES OF THE CONCORDE (SOCIAL CHRISTIAN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION) AGENCIES. BECAUSE OF ITS ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENCES, IT IS LIKELY TO SURVIVE EVEN IF THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW IS NOT

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AMENDED. THE UNC HAS GENERALLY BEEN IN OPPOSITION TO THE GOH. IT WOULD BE IRONIC IF THE GOVERNMENT'S AGRARIAN REFORM LAW RESULTS IN WEAKENING OR DESTROYING THE CAMPESINO ORGANIZATION THAT HAD SUPPORTED THE GOH, THEREBY RELATIVELY BOOSTING THE INFLUENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION THAT HAS GENERALLY BEEN IN OPPOSITION.  
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